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Department of State

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C01/18 007896 NOD136

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DRAFTED BY: NEA/EGY: DKURTZER

APPROVED BY: THE PRESIDENT

NEA: RWMURPHY

NEA/NGA: PBURLEIGH

P: CROSS

NSC: RPEARSON

S/S: KMOUINN

S/S-O: LTRACY

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TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BAGHDAD PRIORITY

~~SECRET~~ STATE 368901

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL EG US

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO MUBARAK'S LETTER ON

- U.S. ARMS TO IRAN

1. SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT
REAGAN TO PRESIDENT MUBARAK, RESPONDING TO MUBARAK'S
LETTER OF NOVEMBER 23, WHICH WAS TRANSMITTED DIRECTLY TO
THE WHITE HOUSE:

DEAR HOSNI:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR THOUGHTFUL LETTER OF NOVEMBER 23.
YOUR WISE COUNSEL AND UNDERSTANDING ARE ALWAYS A SOURCE
OF GREAT STRENGTH FOR ME. I REMAIN VERY PROUD OF OUR
FRIENDSHIP, AND OF THE PARTNERSHIP THAT BINDS OUR TWO

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COUNTRIES. I LOOK FORWARD TO CONTINUING TO WORK TOGETHER CLOSELY IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD.

LET ME EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE UNITED STATES REMAINS FIRMLY COMMITTED TO A PROMPT, PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND TO STAMPING OUT STATE-SUPPORTED TERRORISM. OUR POLICIES ON THOSE VITAL ISSUES HAVE NOT

CHANGED. THE DIALOGUE THAT WE OPENED WITH THE IRANIAN LEADERSHIP AIMED TO FURTHER THOSE GOALS, AS WELL AS TO LAY THE BASIS FOR A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH AN IRAN PREPARED TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS. I KNEW -- AS YOU HAVE KNOWN WHEN FACED WITH DIFFICULT CHOICES IN CHARTING EGYPT'S COURSE -- THAT OUR INITIATIVE INVOLVED SERIOUS RISKS. BUT I ALSO APPRECIATED THE POTENTIAL REWARDS OF SUCH A DIALOGUE.

I AM DETERMINED TO MOVE QUICKLY TO PUT THE FOCUS OF OUR EFFORTS ON THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES THAT WE SHARE WITH OUR ALLIES AND FRIENDS IN THE ARAB WORLD. I SHARE YOUR CONCERN THAT OUR LIMITED EXCEPTION TO THE EMBARGO ON ARMS TO IRAN MIGHT HAVE DAMAGED AMERICAN CREDIBILITY IN THE ARAB WORLD. I AM VERY CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED TO MOVE RAPIDLY TO REASSURE OUR ARAB FRIENDS OF OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT TO OUR COMMON GOALS. TO THIS END, I HAVE DIRECTED THAT THERE BE NO FURTHER SHIPMENTS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT OF ANY KIND TO IRAN. NOR WILL WE CONDONE ARMS SHIPMENTS TO IRAN BY OTHER COUNTRIES.

AGAIN, I DEEPLY APPRECIATE YOUR FRIENDSHIP AND CANDOR. I AM SURE WE CAN WORK TOGETHER TO BRING A QUICK AND HONORABLE END TO THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR AND TO FURTHER THE GOALS OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION.

WITH BEST WISHES,

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APPROVED BY: THE PRESIDENT

NEA: RWMURPHY

S/S: KMOUINN

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E. O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PREL US JO

SUBJECT: MESSAGE FOR KING HUSSEIN

1. (SECRET - ENTIRE TEXT)
2. PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO KING HUSSEIN. NO SIGNED ORIGINAL WILL FOLLOW.
3. YOUR MAJESTY:

I HAVE RECEIVED YOUR LETTER OF NOVEMBER 18 AND HAVE BEEN TROUBLED BY IT. THERE IS NO LEADER ANYWHERE WHOSE JUDGMENT AND CANDOR I VALUE MORE THAN YOURS. OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS ALWAYS BEEN ONE OF DEEP TRUST. AND NOTHING MUST CHANGE THAT.

I HAVE STUDIED YOUR WORDS CAREFULLY. KNOWING AS I DO THE
LONG EXPERIENCE AND DEEP INSIGHT THAT YOU BRING TO

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MATTERS OF STATE. I AM SADDENED THAT MY DECISION TO AUTHORIZE A LIMITED TRANSFER OF ARMS TO IRAN HAS, IN THE VIEW OF MANY FRIENDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, CAST A SHADOW OVER MY EFFORTS TO WORK FOR REGIONAL PEACE AND STABILITY. SUCH MISUNDERSTANDINGS MUST BE RESOLVED, LEST

THEY FURTHER HARM THE CLOSE TIES WHICH BIND OUR NATIONS TOGETHER. LIKE YOU, I BELIEVE THAT WE MUST NOW WORK TO LIMIT THIS DAMAGE. HEARTENED BY YOUR EXPRESSIONS OF COOPERATION AND SUPPORT, LET ME BEGIN BY ANSWERING YOUR CONCERNS WITH THE FRANKNESS THEY DESERVE.

MY AIMS AND POLICIES REMAIN UNCHANGED. THE OBJECTIVES OF MY GOVERNMENT IN PURSUING CONTACTS WITH IRAN WERE STRAIGHTFORWARD:

- TO WORK TOWARD A PROMPT, PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR;
- TO EXPLORE THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH AN IRAN PREPARED TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS;
- TO COUNTER SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THE REGION;
- TO HELP GAIN THE RELEASE OF OUR HOSTAGES.

MY REPRESENTATIVES, IN PURSUIT OF THOSE OBJECTIVES, FOUND THAT IF THE DIALOGUE WERE TO DEVELOP FURTHER OUR IRANIAN CONTACTS NEEDED TO KNOW THAT THEIR U.S. INTERLOCUTORS GENUINELY REPRESENTED ME. AN AUTHORIZATION TO SELL A LIMITED QUANTITY OF DEFENSIVE ARMS WAS SEEN AS THE ONE CLEAR SIGNAL OF MY INVOLVEMENT. ON THAT BASIS, AND ONLY

AFTER VERY CAREFUL CONSIDERATION OF THE RISKS, I AUTHORIZED THE SALE OF A SMALL AMOUNT OF MILITARY

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EQUIPMENT TO OUR IRANIAN CONTACTS. IT WASN'T EASY FOR ME TO DO SO, BUT I FELT WE SHOULD PURSUE THIS CHANNEL AND SEE IF WE COULD POSITION OURSELVES TO AFFECT THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN IRAN. I BELIEVED MUCH WAS AT STAKE AND THAT ONE OF THE DEMANDS OF LEADERSHIP IS THAT LEADERS MUST BE PREPARED TO MAKE TOUGH DECISIONS. I KNOW YOU UNDERSTAND THAT.

HAVING SAID THIS, LET ME MAKE CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT AND WILL NOT "ARM" REVOLUTIONARY IRAN. I MUST EMPHASIZE THAT THE TRANSFER OF EQUIPMENT HAD A DISCRETE, WELL-DEFINED DIPLOMATIC OBJECTIVE, DICTATED BY THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH IRANIAN CONTACTS. I FULLY AGREE WITH YOUR VIEW THAT AN IRAN COMMITTED TO THE VIOLENT EXPORT OF ITS REVOLUTION POSES A GRAVE DANGER TO THE ENTIRE REGION. IRAN'S CAPACITY FOR FOMENTING TROUBLE IS NOT RESTRICTED TO ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS, AS EVENTS IN LEBANON HAVE SHOWN. MY DECISION TO TRANSFER ARMS WAS NOT INTENDED AS SUPPORT FOR IRAN'S PRESENT LEADERSHIP.

CLEARLY, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE CONTROVERSY OVER THE MEANS WE USED TO PURSUE OUR OBJECTIVES. LEST THERE BE ANY QUESTION ABOUT OUR SUPPORT FOR OUR FRIENDS IN THE GULF REGION, I HAVE ORDERED THAT NO MORE U.S. ARMS WHATSOEVER BE TRANSFERRED TO IRAN. "OPERATION STAUNCH," OUR DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVE TO BLOCK THE FLOW OF ARMS TO IRAN FROM ANY SOURCE -- THE UNITED STATES ITSELF, ITS ALLIES, OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY -- REMAINS OUR POLICY. WE WILL TAKE ALL MEASURES NECESSARY TO CONTINUE AND TO REINVIGORATE IT. AS WE PRESS AHEAD ON OPERATION STAUNCH, WE WILL MAKE CLEAR TO ISRAELI LEADERS THAT OUR DESIRE TO SEE SUCH SHIPMENTS CEASE INCLUDES THEM.

THE IRAQIS HAVE TOLD US FRANKLY THAT THEY CONDEMN THE TRANSFER OF U.S. ARMS TO IRAN. THEIR REACTION, UNDER THE

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PRESSURE OF A LONG AND BITTER WAR, IS THOROUGHLY UNDERSTANDABLE TO ME. AT THE SAME TIME, I GREATLY VALUE THE RELATIONSHIP WHICH WE HAVE DEVELOPED WITH IRAQ, IN LARGE MEASURE WITH YOUR ASSISTANCE, AND I PROFOUNDLY HOPE THAT WE CAN WEATHER THIS PERIOD OF DIFFICULTY BY MEANS OF A FULL AND FRANK DISCUSSION OF OUR DIFFERENCES. I BELIEVE THAT THE IRAQIS KNOW WELL THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP HAS BEEN BENEFICIAL TO THEM AND THAT THAT WILL HELP KEEP OUR DIFFERENCES WITHIN CERTAIN MANAGEABLE BOUNDS.

LET ME ASSURE YOU, AS I HAVE ASSURED PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSSEIN, THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK A PROMPT END TO THIS TRAGIC CONFLICT THAT WILL PRESERVE THE SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF BOTH IRAQ AND IRAN.

IN CLOSING, LET ME SAY THAT I AM TROUBLED BY YOUR CONCERN THAT OUR POLICY DISREGARDS THE INTERESTS AND FEELINGS OF THE ARAB WORLD. RECOGNIZING THAT IRAN TODAY REPRESENTS A THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF THE GULF AND BEYOND, WE SEEK WAYS TO REMOVE THAT THREAT. WHILE WE MAY DISAGREE ABOUT THE WAYS TO SHIFT IRAN TOWARDS MODERATION, I BELIEVE WE BOTH AGREE THAT ENDING IRAN'S EXPORT OF SUBVERSION AND GETTING IT TO LIVE AT PEACE WITH ITS NEIGHBORS IS VERY MUCH IN THE INTERESTS OF THE ARAB NATIONS AND OF OUR OWN.

YOUR MAJESTY, I AM THANKFUL FOR YOUR WORDS OF COUNSEL. I WOULD BE PLEASED TO RECEIVE AND STUDY YOUR RECOMMENDATIONS FOR NEXT STEPS IN OUR JOINT SEARCH FOR PEACE. OUR RELATIONSHIP AND OUR MUTUAL HOPES FOR PEACE IN THE AREA ARE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO ME, AND I WANT TO

MOVE QUICKLY TO REPAIR THE DAMAGE THAT MAY HAVE BEEN DONE TO THEM.

SINCERELY,

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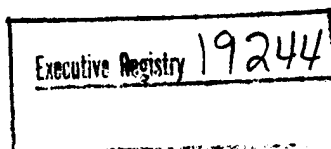
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RONALD REAGAN. END TEXT. SHULTZ

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S E C R E T PARIS 41146

NODIS:

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: FR, US, PTER, ASEC
SUBJECT: PANDRAUD AIDE ON HIZBALLAH DEMANDS, NEW US
- HOSTAGE, ETC.

1. S - ENTIRE TEXT.
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2. S/S PLEASE TREAT FOLLOWING WITH EXTREME SENSITIVITY.
-
3. ON SEPTEMBER 11, CLOSE AIDE TO FRENCH PUBLIC SECURITY MINISTER PANDRAUD OFFERED THE FOLLOWING ON LEBANON HOSTAGES FROM HIS JUST-CONCLUDED FOUR-DAY TRIP TO ALGERIA AND THE MIDDLE EAST:
-

HIZBALLAH

-- SOURCE MET WITH AN IMAM, WHO ALGERIANS SAY (AND HE BELIEVES) IS EMPOWERED TO SPEAK FOR BOTH MAJOR HIZBALLAH FACTIONS IN LEBANON -- THAT OF IMAD MUGNIYAH AND THAT OF HUSSAYN MAUSAWI.

-

-- THE IMAM SAID HIZBALLAH WOULD BE WILLING TO EXCHANGE ALL ITS FOREIGN HOSTAGES FOR: 1) THE 3 LEBANESE OF THE 17 PRISONERS HELD IN KUWAIT, AND 2)

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THE SHIITES HELD BY ISRAEL OR ITS ALLIES;

-- FRENCHMAN CAME AWAY WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THE ONLY KUWAITI PRISONER THAT REALLY COUNTED WAS IMAD MUGNIYAH'S BROTHER-IN-LAW.

-- THE IMAM INDICATED THAT HIZBALLAH WOULD VIEW IT AS A GESTURE OF GOOD WILL AND A SIGN OF INTEREST IN CONTINUING THE DIALOGUE. IF THE FRENCHMAN COULD DELIVER TO HIM A LIST OF SHIITES HELD BY ISRAEL AND ITS ALLIES.

-- THIS LIST CAN BE A RED CROSS LIST OR OTHER PAPER. IT IS OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE TO THE HIZBALLAH.

-- FRENCHMAN BELIEVES THIS IS A GOOD CHANNEL AND HOPES WE ARE INTERESTED.

ACTION REQUEST: DEPARTMENT PLEASE ADVISE IF WE CAN FURNISH SUCH A LIST. FRENCHMAN FELT TO BE EFFECTIVE THIS SHOULD BE DONE WITHIN THE NEXT 7 - 10 DAYS.

NEW US HOSTAGE

-- REED WAS REPORTEDLY "SOLD" TO IMAD MUGNIYAH BY HIS KIDNAPPERS WHO WERE CONTRACTED TO DO THE JOB.

-- REED WAS REPORTEDLY MOVED OUT OF BEIRUT AND ITS SUBURBS SEPTEMBER 10 AND IS NOW BEING HELD WITH THE OTHER HOSTAGES HELD BY IMAD.

CAMILLE SONTAG

-- SONTAG IS STILL UNDER THE CONTROL OF SYRIAN SPECIAL SERVICES AND THE GOF HAS BEEN IN CONTACT WITH THE

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SYRIAN GOVERNMENT ON THIS MATTER. THERE HAS BEEN NO
SATISFACTORY RESPONSE FROM THE SYRIANS.

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